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Dulles' Rightist Critics

DURING THE last years of his life Allen Dulles was under relentless attack as the symbol of James Bond diplomacy, so gruesomely inappropriate, it is held, to the realities of modern politics, to such higher sophistication as makes heroes out of traitors, gods out of Kim Philby and the Rosenbergs.

Ramparts Magazine made such reputation as it fleetingly had from exposing that the CIA under Dulles had done such outrageous things as subsidize Encounter Magazine in London, the National Students Association in the United States, and a training program at a Midwestern university for area specialists headed for service in the CIA.

TRUE, THERE were those who make the whole right-centered criticism of Dulles awkward by such surrealisms as that he was a Communist agent. But the same voices from the right wondered not that Dulles was involved in subsidizing social-political movements and journals around the globe, but that he selected for patronage the left-minded organizations, on the assumption that only people who occupy a position contiguous to that of the people you worry about, are likely to be effective. Thus in Italy you deal with the Social Democrats in preference to the Christian Democrats.

The analogies abound. When time comes to send around subsidies, you send them around to journals of opinion like the New Leader, not to those like the National Review.

I know one person who did service in Mexico for the CIA who believes profound-

ly that what would most benefit the Mexican people would be a stiff dose of capitalism. He found himself a dozen years ago serving as a paymaster, with a wad of money in an envelope destined for an organization whose principal slogan was: "Ni Comunsimo, Ni Capitalismo," (that is to say: neither Communism nor Capitalism — leaving: well, leaving what Mexico has got).

The mischief lay in the hesitation of Dulles and his superiors to adopt radical strategy — the defense of conservative institutions and ideas. Shortly before he died, Henry Luce thought to formulate a similar position in addressing the National Council of Churches: Look (he intended to say) if you are genuinely concerned with the starving peoples of the world, are you not obliged to investigate the apparent corollary between agricultural plenty and the free market-place, as also agricultural privation and socialism? In other words, could you not, even in the name of Christianity, bring yourself to say a good word for capitalism?

During the Dulles years, conservatives starved to death. Precisely those people who reasoned that you could not deal with the Soviet Union, that the politics of detente were doomed to suffer such deaths as Dubcek suffered last summer.

LET IT BE recorded, however, that Dulles sought to maneuver within the Realpolitik of the postwar era. Even if he did not know how finally to cope with the enemy, he knew at least who the enemy was, and that, these days, is practically a virtuoso performance.